

Message Text

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ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 W
-----105318 081601Z /43

P R 081441Z JUL 77
FM AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 7123
INFO AMEMBASSY AMMAN
AMEMBASSY BEIRUT
AMEMBASSY CAIRO
AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS
AMEMBASSY JIDDA
AMCONSUL JERUSALEM

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 TEL AVIV 4988

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: OREP (JAVITS, JACOB K.)
SUBJECT: CODEL JAVITS' VISIT TO ISRAEL

BEGIN SUMMARY. SENATOR JAVITS VISITED ISRAEL JULY 2-5
AT A TIME OF GREAT MEDIA INTEREST IN THE SUBJECT OF
U.S./ISRAELI RELATIONS AND ALLEGATIONS OF TENSIONS AND
STRAINS IN THOSE RELATIONS. IN HIS DISCUSSIONS WITH
ISRAELI POLITICAL LEADERS, THE SENATOR ENCOUNTERED
REPEATED EMPHASIS ON THE ISRAELI CONCERN THAT THE WEST
BANK IS VITAL TO ISRAEL'S SECURITY. ISRAELIS WITH
WHOM HE SPOKE WERE ALMOST UNANIMOUS THAT THERE COULD BE
NO RETURN TO THE '67 BORDERS AND NO INDEPENDENT THIRD
STATE IN THE WEST BANK AND GAZA. THE SENATOR STRESSED
THE CRUCIAL IMPORTANCE OF THE BEGIN VISIT TO WASHINGTON
AND EMPHASIZED THAT THE VISIT SHOULD NOT BE CONSIDERED
A PRELIMINARY DISCUSSION BUT THAT THE PRIME
MINISTER SHOULD BE PREPARED FOR DEFINITIVE AND
DETAILED DISCUSSIONS. END SUMMARY.

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1. DURING HIS THREE DAYS IN ISRAEL, SENATOR JAVITS
MET WITH THE MOST PROMINENT MEMBERS OF THE NEW
GOVERNMENT, INCLUDING BEGIN, DAYAN, WEIZMAN,
EHRlich AND SHARON. HE ALSO MET WITH MEMBERS OF
THE FORMER GOVERNMENT, INCLUDING RABIN, ALLON,
PERES AND EBAN. HE MET WITH THE DMC'S YADIN AND RUBENSTEIN

AND HAD AN EXCELLENT BRIEFING BY GENERAL GAZIT, THE DIRECTOR OF MILITARY INTELLIGENCE. HE ALSO FOUND TIME TO ATTEND THE JULY 4 RECEPTION AT THE RESIDENCE AND MET WITH A NUMBER OF PERSONAL ACQUAINTANCES AND REPRESENTATIVES OF JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS. THIS CABLE REPORTS THE SENATOR'S DISCUSSIONS WHICH HAVE NOT BEEN SEPARATELY REPORTED.

2. EHRLICH. THE MEETING WITH FINANCE MINISTER EHRLICH ALSO WAS ATTENDED BY DEPUTY MINISTER FLOMIN AND WAS ESSENTIALLY A RATHER DULL PERFORMANCE. EHRLICH TOLD THE SENATOR THAT THE GOVERNMENT FACED THREE MAJOR ECONOMIC PROBLEMS. THE FIRST IS INFLATION, WHICH THE GOVERNMENT HOPES TO CUT FROM 38 PERCENT LAST YEAR TO 25 PERCENT IN 1977 AND TO 15 PERCENT IN 1978 BY CUTS IN PUBLIC EXPENDITURES, THE SECOND PROBLEM IS ISRAEL'S UNFAVORABLE BALANCE OF PAYMENTS, WHICH SHOWED A DEFICIT ON GOODS AND SERVICES OF \$3.3 BILLION LAST YEAR. THE GOVERNMENT HOPES TO INCREASE EXPORTS AND DECREASE IMPORTS THROUGH A VARIETY OF MEASURES IN ORDER TO IMPROVE THE BOP. THE THIRD PROBLEM IS THE GROWTH OF THE ISRAELI ECONOMY, WHICH SHOWED LOW GROWTH FOR THE THIRD YEAR IN SUCCESSION. THIS WILL BE A DIFFICULT PROBLEM TO TACKLE BECAUSE TOO PRECIPITOUS AN INCREASE IN GROWTH WILL ENCOURAGE INFLATION. BUT
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THE GOVERNMENT HOPES TO OVERCOME THIS PROBLEM BY ENCOURAGING PRIVATE ENTERPRISE AND BY A REDUCTION IN GOVERNMENT ENTERPRISES, TOGETHER WITH AN INCREASE IN INVESTMENT.

3. GAZIT. GENERAL GAZIT'S REMARKS TO THE SENATOR FOCUSED PRIMARILY ON THE WEST BANK. HE SAID THAT FROM A MILITARY POINT OF VIEW THE SITUATION IN 1977 DIFFERS FROM THAT OF 1967 BECAUSE THE WEAPONS IN THE HANDS OF ISRAEL'S ENEMIES ARE NOW TOTALLY DIFFERENT AND THE ELEMENT OF SURPRISE THE ARABS WOULD GAIN BY HAVING THE WEST BANK WOULD BE CRUCIAL. IN ADDITION TO THE QUESTION OF MILITARY ATTACK, A MAJOR PROBLEM WOULD BE SUBVERSION AND TERRORISM. WITH TODAY'S WEAPONS, TERRORISTS COULD MAKE LIFE IN ISRAEL IMPOSSIBLE WITHOUT THE NECESSITY OF CROSSING THE GREEN LINE.

4. GAZIT STRESSED THE STRATEGIC IMPORTANCE OF ISRAEL TO THE U.S. IN THE MIDDLE EAST. FIRST, RECENT CONFLICTS IN THE MIDDLE EAST HAVE PROVIDED A TEST OF MODERN WARFARE AND SOPHISTICATED WEAPONS.

THIS TEST HAS BEEN MUCH MORE VALID THAN AMERICAN OPERATIONS IN SE ASIA AND THE LESSONS LEARNED IN THE MIDDLE AAST HAVE CHANGED U.S. TACTICAL CONCEPTS AND MILITARY R&D. A SECOND REASON FOR ISRAEL'S STRATEGIC IMPORTANCE IS THAT IT IS AN IMPORTANT FACTOR IN MAINTAINING THE CONSERVATIVE REGIMES IN THE MIDDLE EAST, SUCH AS JORDAN, SAUDI ARABIA AND IRAN. THIRD, A STRONG ISRAEL IS COUNTER TO SOVIET INFLUENCE IN THE MIDDLE EAST. BECAUSE OF ISRAELI MILITARY SUCCESS, OTHER MIDDLE EAST COUNTRIES ARE CONVINCED THAT WESTERN MILITARY SYSTEMS ARE BETTER THAN THOSE OF THE SOVIET UNION, AND THIS IS IMPORTANT TO THE U.S. AND THE WEST. FINALLY, ISRAEL MAINTAINS INFLUENTIAL

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RELATIONS WITH THIRD WORLD COUNTRIES EVEN IN THE ABSENCE OF DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS; H NOTED ISRAELI ASSISTANCE TO KENYA IN 1976 AND CURRENT ASSISTANCE TO EHTIOPIA, AND SAID THESE EFFORTS HELP TO PREVENT SOVIET PENETRATION.

5. IN RESPONSE TO A QUESTION FROM THE SENATOR, GAZIT SAID ISRAEL IS AWARE OF EGYPTIAN VIOLATIONS OF SINAI II BUT IS NOT UNDULY CONCERNED BECAUSE IT VIEWS THEM AS BEING UNRELATED TO OFFENSIVE PREPARATIONS, BUT DESIGNED FOR THE DEFENSE OF THE CANAL TOWNS. NEVERTHELESS, WHEN ISRAEL LOOKS AT THE POLITICAL IMPLICATIONS OF SINAI II, IT SEES THAT IN RETURN FOR GIVING UP TWO OF FOUR ESSENTIAL ELEMENTS OF THE SINAI (ABU RODEIS OIL AND THE PASSES) ISRAEL WAS TO HAVE GAINED TRUST, CESSATION OF ANTI-ISRAELI POLITICAL ACTIVITIES AND A CERTAIN AMOUNT OF NORMALIZATION. NONE OF THESE THREE RESULTS WERE ATTAINED AND THIS FAILURE REQUIRES ISRAEL TO CONSIDER CAREFULLY WHAT IT MIGHT BE PROMISED IN RETURN FOR WITHDRAWING FROM THE WEST BANK. GAZIT WAS VERY IMPRESSIVE AND DISPLAYED HIS USUAL ABILITY TO ANALYZE POLITICAL AS WELL AS MILITARY FACTORS.

6. RABIN FORMER PRIME MINISTER RABIN EMPHASIZED TO SENATOR JAVITS THAT IN HIS DISCUSSIONS IN WASHINGTON EARLIER THIS YEAR IT HAD BEEN AGREED THAT THE U.S.WOULD NOT BE SPECIFIC IN IT PRELIMINARY DISCUSSIONS ABOUT GENEVA; THIS APPEARS NOW TO HAVE CHANGED. WHILE THE LABOR PARTY WAS READY FOR SOME COMPROMISE ON THE TERRITORIES, THERE IS INDEED A NATIONAL CONSENSUS AMONG POLITICAL PARTIES AND ISRAELI

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CITIZENS THAT THERE CAN BE NO RETURN TO THE -'67

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ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 W
-----112512 082153Z /65

P 081441Z JUL 77

FM AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 7124

INFO AMEMBASSY AMMAN

AMEMBASSY BEIRUT

AMEMBASSY CAIRO

AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS

AMEMBASSY JIDDA

AMCONSUL JERUSALEM

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 TEL AVIV 4988

EXDIS

BORDERS. HE IS ALSO CONCERNED ABOUT NORMALIZATION AND ARAB CLAIMS THAT THERE CAN BE NO NORMAL PEACE WITH ISRAEL IF THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES ARE NOT RETURNED; HOWEVER, THERE WAS NO NORMAL PEACE IN THE YEARS PRIOR TO 1967 WHEN THE ARABS HAD ALL THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES.

7. YADIN. IN A BREAKFAST MEETING, PROFESSOR YADIN TOLD THE SENATOR THAT CONSIDERABLE DIFFERENCES REMAIN BETWEEN THE DMC AND THE LIKUD ON QUESTIONS OF TERRITORIES AND SETTLEMENTS AND THESE MUST BE SATISFACTORIALLY RESOLVED BEFORE THE DMC COULD JOIN THE COALITION. NEVERTHELESS, THE DMC AGREES WITH THE LIKUD THAT THERE CAN BE NO SEPARATE PALESTINIAN STATE AND ON THE IMPORTANCE OF THE WEST BANK FOR ISRAEL'S SECURITY. HE PERSONALLY FELT THAT THE PRESENT SITUATION IN THE WEST BANK IS APPROXIMATELY THAT WHICH MIGHT BE MADE FORMAL IN A FUTURE AGREEMENT, I.E.,

OPEN BRIDGES TO OTHER ARAB COUNTRIES,ETHNIC AND
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CULTURAL IDENTIFICATION, CLOSE TIES TO JORDAN, AND
THE IDF IN THE JORDAN VALLEY. THE ONLY CHANGE
THAT WOULD BE REQUIRED UNDER A PEACE AGREEMENT WOULD
BE TO REPLACE THE IDF BY JORDANIAN POLICE. YADIN
CONTINUES TO DISPLAY THE HESITANCY WE HAVE
PREVIOUSLY NOTED ABOUT MAKING THE DIFFICULT
DECISIONS REGARDING ENTERING THE OCALITION.

8. WEIZMAN. MINSTER OF DEFENSE WIZMAN TOLD THE
SENATOR THAT BOTH THE LABOR PARTY AND THE
DMC HAD SAID THAT THE JORDAN SHOULD BE ISRAEL'S
SECURITY BORDER, SO THE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN
THEM AND THE LIKUD ARE NOT ENTIRELY CLEAR. IF
THE U.S. PRESSURES ISRAEL UNDULY, THE UNFORTUNATE
RESULT WOULD BE THE GREATEST DEMOCRACY IN THE
WORLD PRESSURING THE ONLYDEMOCRACY IN THE
MIDDLE EAST.BUT IF ISRAEL HAS TO CHOOSE BETWEEN
U.S. ASSISTANCE AND REMAINING IN THE WEST BANK, IT
WILL CHOOSE THE LATTER. HE EMPHASIZED THAT THE
WEST BANK IS NECESSARY TO ISRAEL FOR NATIONAL
DEFENSE; SURROUNDED BY ENEMIES AND HAVING SEEN
OTHER U.S. FRIENDS GO DOWN IN DEFEAT, ISRAEL FEELS
IT MUST BE SELF-RELIANT.

9. IN A BRIEF DISCUSSION ABOUT LEBANON, WEIZMAN
FLATLY TOLD THE SENATOR THAT HE HAD BEEN FOUR
MILES INSIDE SOUTH LEBANON EARLIER THAT DAY
(JULY 4) AND HAD MET THERE WITH 40 CHRISTIAN
LEADERS WHO HAD ASKED HIM WHAT ISRAEL WOULD TO TO
HELP THEM.THIS,HE SAID, IS A SIGN THAT AN
ARAB COMMUNITY IS WILLING TO LIVE WITH ISRAEL
AND IS AN IMPORTANT FACTOR FOR THE FUTURE.FROM
HIS REMARKS, IT APPEARS WEIZMAN IS THOROUGHLY
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ENJOYING HIS POSITION AS MINISTER OF DEFENSE AND
IS PERSONALLY VERY MUCH INVOLVED IN THE MINISTRY'S
ACTIVITIES. IN ADDITON TO HIS ENTRYINTO
LEBANON, HE HAD EARLIER THAT DAY FLOWN A HELICOPTER
AND FIRED AN ANTITANK MISSILE IN A TEST DEMONSTRATION.

10. ALLON. THE SENATOR'S FINAL MEETING WAS WITH

FORMER MINISTER ALLON, WHO REPEATED HIS FAMILIAR THEME THAT NEGOTIATIONS HAVE NOT YET STARTED AND YET THE MEDIATOR IS ALREADY SIXING BORDERS. ALLON SAID HE WAS PARTICULARLY CONCERNED ABOUT RECENT AMERICAN STATEMENTS FOR THREE REASONS: FIRST, THE ARABS WILL MISINTERPRET WHAT WASHINGTON IS SAYING AND WILL FEEL NO NECESSITY TO BE ACCOMMODATING BECAUSE THE U.S. IS DOING A GOOD JOB FOR THEM. VOICES FROM ARAB CAPITALS HAVE INDICATED THE ARABS BELIEVE THEIR POLICY OF NO TERRITORIAL CONCESSION IS PAYING OFF, THAT THE PLO WILL BE REPRESENTED AT GENEVA, AND THAT THE MEANING OF PEACE IS BEING ERODED. ARAB EXPECTATIONS HAVE BEEN RAISED BY U.S. STATEMENTS AND A U.S. BLUEPRINT FOR NEGOTIATIONS HAS EVOLVED, ALTHOUGH THE SECRETARY HAD TOLD ALLON IN LONDON THAT IT WOULD NOT. SECOND, THE TIMING OF THE RECENT STATEMENTS IS BAD. ALLON SAID HE WAS AWARE OF THE EXPLANATION THAT WASHINGTON HAD FELT IT NECESSARY TO RESPOND TO STATEMENTS BY BEGIN, BUT "THE EXTREMIST STATEMENTS IN JERUSALEM DID NOT JUSTIFY" WASHINGTON'S RESPONSE. HE ALSO SAID, AS OTHER ISRAELI POLITICAL FIGURES HAVE, THAT THE U.S. HAS MADE NO REACTION TO EXTREMIST ARAB STATEMENTS. THIRD, ALLON FELT THE CONTENT OF THE STATEMENTS HAS BEEN UNACCEPTABLE. IF THE U.S. CONTINUES IN THE POSITION IT APPARENTLY HAS ADOPTED, THE INEVITABLE RESULT WILL BE TO CHANGE ISRAEL FROM AN INDEPENDENT ASSET INTO A WEAK

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DEPENDENCY. ISRAEL CAN INDEPENDENTLY DEFEND ITSELF AND HANDLE THE LOCAL SITUATION IN THE MIDDLE EAST ONLY AS LONG AS IT HAS DEFENSIBLE BORDERS. HE SAID HE PLACED LITTLE VALUE IN U.S. UNDERSTANDING OF ISRAEL'S POSITION--"U.S. GENERALS DO NOT UNDERSTAND SMALL NATIONS' DEFENSE CONCEPTS."

11. THIS MESSAGE WAS PREPARED AFTER SENATOR JAVITS' DEPARTURE AND HAS NOT BEEN CLEARED BY HIM. LEWIS

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Message Attributes

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